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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the [340] hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated
• [346] in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations
led to the formation of two groups who would not com-
promise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some
years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expe-
dition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two
hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process
of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to
build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for
the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new
fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan
and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima ham-
let. There were not enough men in the other group to build a
house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and
were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions
as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreci-
ate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and
make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house
tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the co-
operative work of building dwellings and clearing garden
sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for
a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-
group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents con-
tinually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to
them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than
she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own
kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and
other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if
she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the
face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband
may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kamb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kamb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished [123] breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kamb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost @ 346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an alter formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved 346 532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole alter was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 123 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that [562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We [858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might [648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the [532] affair. We were then led up to the alter and shown each of the figures,

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[177] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front could not see the sacred altar.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, pasticularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
• 346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
798 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abímakwa and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatriser). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawímayí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Pursehouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McEachney, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the Pacific Island Monthly. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Maskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 November 9, 1936. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a 346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan. 346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Soniyambi of the [illegible] sib at Bongue. It may be said to start when the l'xik' center posts (hwatd) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wank) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maretta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

"The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maretta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maretta to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the vibs of Waskuk and Romrus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk iulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaliju). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
(192) singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpi' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwatí as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bongus.
[177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[537] representing the Rumbime, Wenyabenkura, and Duwus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
796 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water "sac sac"
264 and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[262] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
[614] apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished, the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing is finished.

796 "The men return to the singing and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'bamis' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This [538] [532] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong [533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few [534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honqwan sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, [703] [178] however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact [554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).